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624 could be held to account for the murder of any traveler
175 on these roads. Under the Yung Cheng reign of the
Manchu dynasty, the important monastery of Erhkulung,
648 in the territory of the Ch'i T'u-ssu, joined in the great insurrection of 1723. The Ch'i T'u-ssu was punished for failing to control the insurgent monks. His subjects were taken away from him and inscribed on the register of Chinese subjects under direct Chinese administration, his territory was confiscated, and he was deprived of his rank. A large number of his subjects, however, revolted against the Chinese and joined the insurrection which was still going on. The Chinese authorities therefore compromised. The Ch'i T'u-ssu was asked to summon his subjects back to their allegiance, and was promised that his forfeited rights and privileges would be restored if he succeeded. The promise was carried out and he was in fact reinstated as T'u-ssu when he contributed to the suppression of the insurrection by bringing his subjects back under control.

651 In connection with this recorded historical incident
648 there may be cited a tradition concerning an ancestor
of the T'u-ssu of the Li clan, who was condemned to
173 have his head cut off, his territory confiscated, and his subjects brought under direct Chinese jurisdiction, for
624 failing to crush a revolt. Other T'u-ssu intervened on his behalf, however, because of the meritorious services rendered to the empire by his ancestors, capital punishment was commuted, and he and his descendants were instead to be required to pay in perpetuity a tax called *ch'iu liang*, "the tax of supplication." After one or two years, however, according to the tradition, the humiliating word "supplication" was replaced by the Chinese character meaning "autumn" which is also pronounced *ch'iu*, as a "face-saving" concession. The tradition is supported by the statement in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 16, p. 5*a*) that a special "autumnal tax" was yearly collected from the Li T'u-ssu, but the Li T'u-ssu and his subjects explain away the whole matter by saying that at some time in the past, when the Chinese officials were in difficulties because of insurrections, and were short of grain and flour, the Li T'u-ssu of that time, recalling the favors bestowed on his ancestors for centuries past, magnanimously and voluntarily offered to pay this perpetual "autumn tax." Thus the clan has its own "face-saving" version of the tradition.

EXTRATERRITORIAL JURISDICTION

651 The emperor, as overlord, had a special interest in
648 the fact that the Monguor troops required neither pay,
provisions, nor weapons, but were maintained com-
624 pletely at the expense of their own clans. As compensation, the Chinese officials were not allowed to impose
● 701 land taxes on the Monguors or to requisition labor services from them. The Monguor soldier, since he was considered to be perpetually on frontier duty, could not also be requisitioned for labor; nor could he be drafted

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651 648 624 701 into the Chinese army. In order to keep up the Monguor military strength, the emperor did not allow subjects of the clan to abandon their T'u-ssu, and the Chinese officials were ordered to help the T'u-ssu in recovering any subjects who had left their territories. The overlord state thus confirmed the clan rule of the Monguors that the subjects of the clan "belonged" to the chief. While in later times Monguors farming land in territory under direct Chinese administration were required to pay the land tax, they were still exempt from the corvée of forced labor.

651 648 624 In the administration of the law, relations between Monguors and Chinese were "extraterritorial." When a Chinese accused a Monguor, the summons had to be sent to the T'u-ssu, who alone could order his subject to appear at the Chinese court. Chinese allowed by a T'u-ssu to settle in his territory became his subjects, liable to Monguor land taxes, military service, and corvées. Monguor lawsuits had to be brought before the T'u-ssu and his officials. If a Monguor did not agree with the verdict of the T'u-ssu, however, he was allowed to appeal to the Chinese high court; but this right was more theoretical than practical, because the Chinese official, considering the T'u-ssu as a fellow-official, and also not unmindful of presents at New Year and at the four seasons, regularly confirmed the verdict of the T'u-ssu.

When Chinese officials, representing the overlord state, traveled through the territory of a T'u-ssu, roads and bridges had to be put in repair. Similarly, when Chinese troops passing through the territory of a T'u-ssu had to cross a river, the Monguors were required to provide the necessary rafts and boats.

TAXES UPON T'U-SSU AND THEIR SALARY

Under the Ming dynasty, except for the "autumn tax" on the Li T'u-ssu, which has already been mentioned, no taxes were imposed on a T'u-ssu. In this respect there was a marked difference between the T'u-ssu and the chiefs of many Tibetan and Mongol tribes who were required to bring every year, or once in a term of years, a fixed tribute of horses or other products of their territories. The difference is accounted for by the fact that a tribute-paying chief and his subjects were not, like a T'u-ssu and his clan, considered to be on permanent military service.

Under the Manchu dynasty, however, the *Annals* of Kansu record that twelve out of the seventeen T'u-ssu were required to pay land tax. The five that were exempt were the five most influential and powerful: the Lu (3,245 families); two Ch'i (800 and 700 families); two Li (4,000 and 960 families), and Wang (150 families). It is possible that these T'u-ssu were exempt from the tax either because of services rendered during the Tibetan insurrection of 1723 or simply because they were powerful and the Chinese were afraid to impose a tax on them for fear they would revolt. The tax im-

[p. 51a]

651 as the ceremony of the investiture which has already been mentioned, extra services are required for white-washing, work in the kitchen, and so forth. Obligatory services and gifts in kind are also required when the son or daughter of a T'u-ssu is married. Each village must then provide a fixed number of sheep, pigs, and cattle and also a contribution of 50,000 copper coins. These celebrations last for three days, with dinners that may be attended by as many as three or four hundred guests, at which all the nobles and important commoners must be on duty.

Among the Monguors as among the Chinese a funeral is a festival. The funeral of a T'u-ssu, of one or his wives, or of a married son is a great occasion. An official invitation is sent to each village, and on the invitation is listed the required offering of gifts in kind and cash. For the funeral of the T'u-ssu, of one of his wives, or of his eldest son, 50,000 copper coins are solicited. Nobles and the important commoners who are invited to take part in the procession as mourners must be dressed, in the Chinese style, in a long white gown. Each village must provide a number of gowns, and the women of the village must buy the white cotton cloth and sew the gowns. Invitations are sent to Chinese officials, to T'u-ssu, and to important people, and Monguor commoners have to forward these messages as a corvée service. Dinners are prepared for as many as a thousand persons. The funeral procession passes through the village or town with banners and streamers. The lamas of the monasteries in the clan territory are required to take part in the funeral, chanting prayers, and must be fed for several days. The ceremonies may last for a week, and the entertainment may require the slaughtering of ten or more oxen, a hundred sheep, and fifty hogs.

In preparation for such a funeral, all the old graves in the cemetery must be put in good condition; and after the burial of a T'u-ssu a guard must be kept over the cemetery, day and night, for a whole year. Each village in rotation provides a guard for ten days. In mourning for a T'u-ssu, his officials remove from their hats for a full year the button, of different material and colors according to rank, which is the token of their office.

MILITARY SERVICE

•701 Traditionally, the most important duty of the Monguors was military service. Military organization followed the conventional Mongol decimal structure, the smallest unit consisting of ten men. The most important officers were "commanders of one hundred" and "commanders of a thousand." Each T'u-ssu stood at the head of his own forces. Originally, the officers were always nobles. In later times, this tradition decayed and the T'u-ssu became accustomed to selling the office of "commander of a thousand" to the highest bidder, noble or commoner. The names of the commanders had to be submitted to the military commander of Hsining. It is hardly surprising therefore that during the great

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701 Muslim rebellion of 1868–1875 the "commanders of a thousand" vanished and the "commanders of one hundred," who had not purchased their rank, turned out to be the real leaders.

Each village knows the number of men that it must provide for military service. In some villages the farmers agree among themselves, designating each family that is to provide a soldier when there is a call for service. Another method is for the village to hire young men whenever there is a call for troops from the T'u-ssu. In some villages the custom is to set aside fields, known as "fields for the expenses of horses and soldiers," the income from which is used to meet the military obligations of the village. These fields are made over, as their private property, to families which agree to provide soldiers. Such fields are free of taxes, and the families owning them have the right to "pass" them to other families, in which case the new owners assume the obligation attached to the fields. Military equipment in the form of weapons, uniforms, kettles, tents, and horses "passes" together with the fields. Because a family owning such fields is exempt from taxes, it receives no indemnity if a son of the family is killed on military service; on the contrary, it must provide another man to take the place of the one killed. In villages that do not follow this system, the families of soldiers killed in action must be indemnified. In such villages, every time that men are called up for active service the indemnity to be provided in case of death is debated in long and earnest village meetings.

In one case known to me, all ten soldiers of the village of Lichiachai were killed in the great Muslim rebellion of 1868–1875. After this disaster no one dared to take over possession of the "fields for the expenses of horses and soldiers" and assume the responsibility of military service. In consequence, it became the custom in this village for the whole community to farm these fields, without taxes, the income providing a fund from which the village hired and equipped its contingent of ten soldiers.

701 65 Another typical case is that of Yangch'üan, the village in which the sixth House of the Li clan collects its land taxes. In 1876, after the Muslim rebellion there were no more people in the village. The T'u-ssu and the sixth House were eager to get farmers who would pay the taxes and provide the squad of ten soldiers that constituted the obligations of this village. A group of Chinese were willing to enroll into the clan, farm the land and pay the taxes, but refused to assume the burden of equipping ten soldiers. Finally the sixth House agreed to assume the military burden, if the farmers would agree to provide the fodder of ten horses, amounting to two *tan* of peas. After a few years the sixth House started asking for four *tan* of peas. The farmers complained to the T'u-ssu and the rate was fixed at three *tan*. In 1882, however, pressure was put on the farmers to provide in addition to the fodder for them the

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701 651 ten horses. The farmers brought a suit against the sixth House in the Chinese court. The case dragged on for many years, during which both sides spent a great deal of money, and finally the farmers were compelled to give four *tan* of peas. But during the subsequent Muslim rebellion of 1891–1895 the sixth House absconded and the farmers were compelled to provide ten soldiers and horses, together with fodder and equipment. After the rebellion new complaints followed one after another and finally in 1918 the stubborn villagers refused to recognize any military burden.

701 The small scale of traditional frontier warfare is shown by the fact that only one T'u-ssu was called upon to furnish as many as 300 soldiers, 100 of them mounted. The contingent of another T'u-ssu was 150, including 50 mounted men; two others had to furnish 100 men each, 5 of them mounted (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42; *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 18, pp. 3*a*, 4*a*). Among these figures I have not been able to find those for the contingent of the Lu T'u-ssu. If his contingent numbered 300, like that of the Li T'u-ssu, the total for all the Monguors would be only 1,275 men. But it is said that he disposed of 700 Monguor soldiers and 300 lama soldiers.[30] The Monguor troops, except for those hired by their own villages, received no pay, but when they were on active service the imperial commissary provided them with salt, tea, and flour. The troops were, however, entitled to any booty that they could capture. In the Ming dynasty, according to the *Annals* of the Province, ch. 42, p. 47*a*, an expedition was sent to Turkistan (Sinkiang) to punish the tribes of Hantung and Chiuhsien in 1423. This expedition was commanded by Li Ying, who had the title of Count (Po) of Hui-ning. His forces consisted mostly of Monguors, and they returned with a booty of more than 140,000 cattle. More recently, in 1918, a group of Monguor soldiers participated as volunteers in an expedition against the Ngolok Tibetans of Kukunor. They returned after half a year, each man with a booty of nine cows

705 175

[30] In time of war, however, it is evident that some T'u-ssu, at least, were able to raise more troops than the number required of them according to the formal lists. Thus in the Tibetan insurrection of 1723 the Chinese general Yueh Chung-ch'i enrolled 2,000 Monguor troops for the defense of the passes, according to the *Tung Hua Lu*, a Manchu imperial chronicle, 3rd vol. of the reign of Yung Cheng, 1st year, p. 29; a thousand Monguors of the Lu T'u-ssu fought at Chiuchuan, according to the *Ch'ing Shih-lu*, an archive of materials collected for the writing of a formal history of the Manchu dynasty, Bk. 144, ch. 13, p. 8; Monguors (number not given) commanded by Chiang Tung destroyed the monastery of Shihmen and killed seven hundred lamas and Tibetans according to the same source, Bk. 145, ch. 16, p. 28, and others helped to quell the revolt in the region of Kuei-te, according to the *Huang Ch'ing Fan-pu Yao-lueh*, an imperial publication dealing with "barbarian" affairs, ch. 11, p. 7*a*. Previous to this, in 1720, Monguor troops of the Li T'u-ssu had accompanied the Manchu-Chinese expedition sent to drive the Jungar Mongols out of Lhasa, according to the *Wei Tsang T'ung-chih* (*Annals* of Central Tibet, ch. 13, p. 2*b*), and *Annals* of the Province of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 38*b*.

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705 175 and twenty sheep, and loaded with kettles, ropes, felt coverings for tents, lamb skins, and wool.

714 The Monguor soldier wore a turban of blue or black cotton cloth. The distinctive part of his uniform was a sleeveless jacket of red cotton cloth, with yellow trimmings and a circular patch of white on the chest and back. On these circles were written three Chinese characters reading "Monguor soldier" and the clan name of his T'u-ssu. These white circles on the red jacket made bright targets for the enemy. The soldier was expected to report for duty with an old musket and a sword. For every unit of ten men the village had to provide a tent, a kettle, and one pack horse, in addition to riding horses for the mounted men. The horses are shod only on the forefeet, as in medieval Europe.

651 As has already been described, each T'u-ssu formerly had the responsibility for guarding certain passes leading to the Tibetan plateau. At these passes detachments of Monguor troops were stationed even in times of peace, and at these posts they had the right to collect taxes from caravans. Other traditional taxes and levies were also for the maintenance of troops. Up until recent times, for instance, the Lu T'u-ssu had the right to tax all rafts going down the Tat'ung River past his town of Liench'eng. This tax was collected according to the number of steering sweeps on each raft. The Lu T'u-ssu's soldiers also collected taxes from Chinese traders buying horses, mules, cows, sheep and pigs in his territory. The Monguors were exempted from these taxes. Twice every year the Lu T'u-ssu inspected all his troops in the valley of Kuch'eng ("Old City"). These occasions were celebrated with horse races and wrestling matches, and there was a large market attended by an enormous crowd. The troops collected taxes from merchants attending this market.

527 651

701 651 Soldiers were also required for peace-time duty at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, as sentries, body guards, and official messengers. They also maintained order among the crowds at the great religious celebrations at the monasteries built in the territory of the T'u-ssu, and at the time of the annual clan meeting. On such occasions they also collected taxes from Chinese merchants.

TRIENNIAL INSPECTION

624 According to protocol, a T'u-ssu should make an inspection visit every three years (in some cases, every two years) to all the villages of his subjects. This visit is called the "descent among the subjects," and in the course of the visit the T'u-ssu should make a count of the number of his subjects and check on the administration of the villages, in order to make a report to the Chinese officials representing the overlord state. This triennial tour is one of the main sources of income of a T'u-ssu.

The tour begins on an auspicious day fixed by a lama. Monguor soldiers from the first village to be visited on the tour come to the mansion of the T'u-ssu, with some

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624 lamas, the "passing" of land to people who are not members of the clan, etc.

624 The number of men in the village liable to military service is checked, and the T'u-ssu carries out a military inspection. The troops turn out with their •701 muskets and swords and horses. Tents, cooking kettles, pack animals and pack saddles, and sacks for carrying the flour ration are all inspected. The inspection concludes with a sham attack by the Monguor cavalry at full gallop, the soldiers firing their guns, drawing their swords, and howling and shouting.

624 The next important procedure is ratification by the T'u-ssu of all the settlements made by the village elders 692 in patching up quarrels during the preceding three years. The custom is that when such a settlement is made, each person involved must pay the elders 2,000 copper coins, and these accumulated sums must be offered to the T'u-ssu. If there are legal suits, as distinguished from these settlements, the T'u-ssu presides over them on the fourth day. To deal with such suits, he is accompanied throughout his journey by the officials of his court of justice and by lictors carrying chains, handcuffs, and batons, and wearing their appropriate costumes.

624 The custom is that justice be rendered on the threshing 693 floor of the village in the open air. The lord and his secretaries sit at tables. At the left stand two lictors 681 dressed in red cotton and wearing high red harlequin hats, and with batons in their hands. At the right stand two lictors dressed in black. Chains, handcuffs, and batons are laid on the table, and plaintiffs and defendants kneel in front. The punishments inflicted include hanging by the wrists or thumbs, and flogging up to one hundred and even five hundred lashes. The offender is stripped and pegged out face downward, arms and legs spreadeagled. The lictors, armed with short whips or rods, strike the tender inner side of the thighs. Women are flogged on the bare back. The justice meted out is not always as brutal as it appears to be, because the retinue of the T'u-ssu is always venal. They depend on bribery for their income. Although most T'u-ssu do not approve of the corruption indulged in by many of their minor officials, they cannot always prevent it. Suits brought by the Monguors before the T'u-ssu are the delight of his retinue. It is often the crying injustices caused by the venality and peculation of the petty officials that cause Monguors to leave the clan territory and abandon their land.

624 The expenses of legal suits, and of the sojourn of the T'u-ssu with his retinue for that day, are paid by the 651 litigants, but all other expenses of the official three-day 691 visit are defrayed by the people of the village. At the end of the visit, the elders and troops of the next village come to escort the T'u-ssu on the next stage of his tour.

624 It may be noted that this triennial tour of the T'u-ssu, accompanied by his court of justice, seems to suggest that it is the T'u-ssu as an individual and not his mansion

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by Chinese officials, or on journeys to congratulate Chinese officials on the major feast days of the year. The nobles as a group are also exempted from military service, although the chiefs of the militia of the commoners, according to tradition, were always chosen from among the nobles in former times. In later times both nobles and commoners have served as commanders and officers.[55]

It is said by the Monguors that in times past it was usually a noble who served as the chief of a village, but that because at present there are very few capable men among the nobles, these duties have devolved on commoners. Similarly, the nobles have lost the monopoly of serving as military officers.

AUTHORITY OF T'U-SSU OVER NOBLES

As might be expected the relations between a T'u-ssu and his nobles are of a special kind. It has already been described how, on occasions of special ceremony, a T'u-ssu may actually be expected to prostrate himself before nobles who are members of a generation senior to his own, while they do not have to prostrate themselves to him, but merely clasp their hands and bow their heads. Moreover, while the T'u-ssu takes precedence when he is presiding as chief of the clan at the veneration of the ancestors, at clan meetings, during the triennial visitation, or when nobles or commoners are brought before him in a lawsuit, yet on such occasions as non-official dinners and the marriages of nobles, the T'u-ssu always requests a noble of a generation senior to his own to preside.

Difficulties among the nobles most commonly originate either in quarrels over the division of a paternal inheritance or quarrels about the collection of taxes. In order to prevent litigation, the clan elders try to arbitrate such quarrels. Only if they are unsuccessful is a lawsuit brought before the T'u-ssu. If the parties do not agree to the T'u-ssu's verdict, they are free to appeal to a Chinese court. In a case known to me, the eleventh House of the clan of Li T'u-ssu had trouble with its villages over the collection of taxes. Unwilling to abide by the verdict of the T'u-ssu, the members of the House went to the Chinese court. They were severely rebuked, the Chinese judge angrily threatening to abolish the outmoded custom under which the members of a whole clan live at the expense of the commoners.

Nobles are never flogged or beaten for transgression of the law, because the lictors are commoners and it is not fitting that commoners should beat nobles.

When the T'u-ssu visits his nobles in the course of his triennial tour, they defray his expenses, including those of his retinue, just as do the commoners.

The old nomad custom was that when an individual

[55] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 233, notes that among the Mongols of the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries, with the decay of the feudal system, the duty of feudal service on the part of a noble to his lord had become more voluntary than obligatory.

361 621 721 The Ming dynasty was strongest in the first century and a half of its rule. After that, from 1509 to the founding of the Manchu dynasty in 1644, and from then until 1723, recurrent forays and revolts never left the country at peace. At one time, a Chinese army of a hundred thousand men had to be sent to garrison this frontier region (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, p. 13*b*). In 1537 orders were given to build more mud walled villages, and in 1595 orders came again to repair the old fortifications and to build more new fortified villages (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, pp. 15*a*, 19*a*). It is worth noting that Liench'eng, the seat of the Lu clan, means "associated cities," since in the region of Liench'eng thirteen strongholds were built by the T'u-ssu, most of them still extant.

[712] These notices in the *Annals* suggest that few fortified villages had previously existed, but that from this time the population began to group itself around small strongholds, the more important of which grew into fortified villages.

618 701 361 621 The Monguor clan was a military institution, originally shaped on the Mongol nomadic pattern, with a decimal system of groups of 10, 100, and 1,000 families and a hierarchy of military command from the largest unit of 10,000 down to the smallest of 10. When the Monguors became farmers, the process of settling broke up these units, with the result that families that had once belonged to the same military unit were scattered among different farming groups. It then became necessary to make a new military grouping based on the distribution of villages. This led to a system of villages in which the head of the village was also the military chief, and in which the military interest of defense was coordinated with such community interests as the maintenance of irrigation canals. The transformation of villages in which some families were subject to mobilization under military units in other villages into a system in which the military unit coincided with the residential community seems to have been brought about not by planning but by a natural adjustment.

361 A Monguor village may be described as "loose," in contrast with the Chinese "compact" village. It is not a large place included between four strong, thick mud walls, with a small gate easy to defend, but a defined territory in which the people live on their farms, scattered in small groups, under the rule of the chief of the [311] territory. Each "village" has a share of pasture for the herds of the whole community and a valley for the cutting of wood and fuel by all members of the community.

It sometimes has a central stronghold in which live some twenty or thirty families. Sometimes, though not usually, the mansion of the T'u-ssu and the administrative buildings of the clan are also within the stronghold, together with a couple of shops, one of which is always the indispensable pharmacy with a Chinese "physician." Again in contrast with the Chinese pattern, there are rarely any "streets" laid out at right angles, for the

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621 without elders. The whole power of the clan was anciently embodied in the elders, who appointed and dismissed the chiefs. It is therefore no wonder that the elders in every village still play, most of the time, the most important part in local administration.

622 The chief of the village is usually selected from among the commoners, but may be a noble. He is always a villager, a man noted for his proficiency in administration and in good repute among the population for his uprightness and readiness to help members of the community. He is not always the richest man in the village, but is almost always chosen from among the most outstanding families in the village. He may even be a Chinese or a Tibetan enrolled in the clan. He is chosen by the elders on the tenth of the tenth moon. The T'u-ssu is then informed and must approve and send a written commission or appointment. Thus there is a compromise between choice by the village elders and appointment at the T'u-ssu's discretion.[3]

The tour of duty of the village chief is for one year, and he can be reappointed. He is the real executive authority of the village, responsible to the T'u-ssu for law and order and representing the village in its relations with the T'u-ssu.

•701 The military officers are appointed by the T'u-ssu personally, for an indefinite tenure. In former times they were always nobles, but in the last half-century of the old Monguor society many were commoners; the office had become merely honorary, and some T'u-ssu sold it to the highest bidder. The military officers are in charge of the rolls of the village militia, who are subject to call in times of emergency. In addition a few men are on permanent service as soldiers. In case of war or bandit disorders the two officers take command, and call up all the males of the village.

[796] [431] At New Year the village chief and the two military commanders offer the T'u-ssu the New Year greetings of the village and present him with tea, sugar, 622 raisins, a couple of bottles of wine, and a piece of 701 red silk eight feet in length, a ceremonial scarf and 35,000 pierced copper cash. The same three men

[3] It should be noted, however, that in Mongol society there are many examples of compromise between selection (or approval) from below and appointment (or approval) from above. The emphasis may vary either in times of the strongly centralized power of a Mongol emperor (as under Chingis and his immediate successors) or in periods of subordination of Mongol tribes to centralized empires in China (as under the Ming and Manchu dynasties). There are even traditions that the tribe (of commoners) has the right to repudiate the prince who represents the ruling noble clan; with the proviso, however, that the ruling clan may put forward another of its own members to replace the repudiated prince. It is hard to say definitely that the right of the ruling prince, chief, or T'u-ssu is the oldest right. As Father Schram points out, there are reasons for believing that the authority of a council of elders is even more ancient and fundamental. It may be suggested that in such societies as that of the Monguors the rights of the chief tend to prevail over those of the elders when there is a strong overlord paramount over both chief and elders.—O. L.

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622 701 represent the village in preparing and managing all celebrations held at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, such as the investiture, marriages, and funerals, the "opening of the seal," and the yearly diet or assembly. They also preside over the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu to his villages. Together with the elders they execute justice within the village, carry on the day-to-day administration, defend the rights of the villagers in their relations with the T'u-ssu, and of course oppose all enroachments on their own privileges.

623 The elders are appointed by the T'u-ssu himself, for an indefinite period of time. The T'u-ssu selects them from among the outstanding heads of families among nobles and commoners. Most of them are commoners; some are Chinese or Tibetans enrolled in the clan. In former times they were granted by the T'u-ssu a copper button to be worn on top of the hat. All matters concerning administration of the village, the apportioning of taxes, and difficulties among the villagers are discussed between the elders, the chief of the village and the two military commanders. Of them all, it is the elders who carry the most weight.

The elders can delegate some of their powers by appointing young commoners to assist the chief of the village, to organize meetings, to summon the villagers, on necessity, and to collect taxes.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES

623 184 Meetings are the specific form of administration. The villagers are not administered by a small group of autocrats who hold themselves in aloof dignity. All topics of interest to the villagers are discussed in meetings attended by them. At these meetings everybody is allowed to express his views and to defend his rights. Very often the atmosphere of meetings is one of violent agitation and high excitement. It will be recalled that in the ancient form of pastoral nomad government under tribal elders, final decisions were made only after the heads of families had had their say at public meetings. The Monguors, in spite of the passage of many centuries, and after having adopted a sedentary farming economy, still conserve this tradition of their old administrative routine. The public meetings are part of the specific character of government in a Monguor village.

These meetings are not held in the central stronghold built by order of the Chinese, and very seldom in the courtyard of the temple of the village, but in the open air. Every village has its designated place of assembly. Some villagers hold their meetings on the large threshing floor of a particular hamlet of the village; others at a fixed spot in the main valley; others at the foot of a mountain, etc. This tradition of a customary place of assembly, as well as the form of administration, bespeaks the old nomadic customs of the Monguors.

[P.77a]

fluential family of the Lu T'u-ssu and the Prince of Alashan, and a new monastery was born. The community of Erh-ku-lung was powerless. 175 792 794

It sometimes happens that a branch not having its own Living Buddha does not wait to declare its independence. Chai-ya, a small branch of forty lamas dependent on T'u-kuan, possessed some forests; the selling of trees was its primary source of revenues. The subprefect of P'ing-fan confiscated the forest in 1912. At the time, rumors were spread all over the country concerning the confiscation of the domains of all the monasteries. T'u-kuan, deeming it not the appropriate time to accuse the subprefect at the capital of the province, did not help the branch to recover the forest. The frustrated and infuriated branch boldly declared its independence and thereafter had no further relations with the founder. 571

Kalang, an old, independent affiliate of Labrang, founded its own branch, Pi-t'ang. Pi-t'ang flourished and Kalang declined. Pi-t'ang prepared to invite a Living Buddha to move into its establishment, but Kalang refused permission. The lamas of the lamaseries fought among themselves in 1912, and the Moslem General, Ma K'o-ch'en, sent troops to quell the troubles. In 1915 the country was troubled by the Pai Lang (White Wolf) brigands, and the old feud flared up again. Kalang accused Pi-t'ang at the subprefecture of Hsün-hua. Finally Kalang refused to accept the verdict of the subprefect and prepared to fight Pi-t'ang. The general, Ma K'o-ch'en of Hsining, sent his troops, and twenty-one fighting lamas of Kalang and seven Moslem soldiers were killed. Kalang had to pay an indemnity of $10,000 for the soldiers killed. The members of the intendancy were put into jail and Pi-t'ang was declared independent by the Moslem general. These facts give an insight into the problems of the subsidiaries, the very loose ties which knit mother and daughter houses, the reasons which cause a scission, and the ways in which their separation may be achieved and independence acquired. Very often the part played by the intendants is paramount in creating the breach between mother and daughter houses.

LAMA ARMY

At present, the lamaseries of Huang-chung no longer have a regular armed force of lamas who are maintained by the lamasery, as is still the rule in Tibet. The only record encountered in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 28, p 13) concerning a lama army is a supplication sent to the emperor during Cheng-te period (1506–1521) by the Chinese officials of Hsining, asking that the farmers of Hsining be exempted from the burden of supporting the lama army. At that time there existed only the important lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an, with its subsidiaries, some Nang-suos and Karwas, and the lamasery of Shachün. From the relatively small number of lamas at that time, it may be assumed that the lama army con- 175 712 701

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

sisted of lamas and the subjects of the monastery. However, during the revolt of 1723, the lamaseries were in full bloom, and must have had soldiers, because the Chinese General, Nien Keng-yao, blamed the lamas for fighting furiously, and the monasteries for being the depots of weapons. It may be assumed that after the revolt of 1723 the lamaseries were not allowed to have armies. However, during the revolt of the Moslems in 1895, the lamas of Kumbum attacked the stronghold of the rebels in To-pa as auxiliaries of the Chinese regular armies.[10] Nearly all the monasteries at that time except Kumbum were destroyed and burned.

INTERFERENCE OF THE EMPEROR AND T'U-SSU WITH THE LAMASERIES

In Europe during the Middle Ages, many monasteries and abbeys had a bad time. The princes and kings granted vast domains to religious orders to encourage them to branch out into their territories. The grants were gratefully accepted and abbeys built, but some among the gracious donors, in a surge of religiosity, went so far as to appoint an official for the collection of land taxes and the administration of the domains, whose duty it was to furnish the revenue to the abbots in order to free the monks of material troubles. Often these officials were relatives of the donors, and collected most of the taxes for themselves, and the monasteries, unable to make ends meet and to uphold and develop their institutions, had no means of protesting against the relative of the prince. Very often princes started interfering in the administration of the monasteries and claimed the right to appoint an abbot of their own, often a relative. After unworthy abbots were appointed the monasteries relaxed, with the consequences that might be expected.

I know of only two similar cases of interference in Huang-chung. The Lu T'u-ssu of Lien ch'eng had established three important lamaseries and granted vast domains to them. In 1727 the census records for the monastery of Ku-ch'eng show 140 lamas, for Lien-hua 100, and for Pao-nen-ssu 191, a total of 431 lamas. Next to them the T'u-ssu had founded two smaller monasteries, Hsi ssu and Kan-ch'an ssu, which received smaller domains from him. Two among these five monasteries had no Living Buddhas, so that the T'u-ssu appointed himself the intendant; and every three years, at appointment time, troubles arose.

The case of Ch'ü-t'an has been recorded. According to the legend the monk, Emperor Hui-ti, had appointed his relative hereditary administrator of the domains, and a tablet had been erected testifying to the appointment. The fact is, that the real emperor of the

[10] Susie Carson Rynhart, M.D., *With the Tibetans in tent and temple*, 92, London, Fleming Revell, 1902; see also M. S. Wellby, *Through unknown Tibet*, 281, Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1898.

[p.53(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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south of Nienpei, Kuo Chou and Mi Chou, had been disestablished (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 12, and 7: 14).

During the Yuan dynasty a military organization had been elaborated in Huangchung providing for the defense of the strategic and vulnerable points of the country. Only two Mongol officers had been sent with their troops to occupy the country: the myriarch Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-chi, who controlled 10,000 soldiers with their families, and Ch'i-T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, a Mongol officer, who commanded twenty tribes of Chi-pen Mongols. Surrendered tribal local chieftains were enlisted in the cadre of the regular army; they received a title, and were assigned other tribes as subjects, in order to strengthen their military power. Each of them had to defend a definite area and was responsible for the peace of the area. To be sure a high officer controlled this military organization, but only the name of Chang Chi is known, Governor of Huangchung. At the time of the collapse of the Yuan dynasty, this group of officers submitted to the Ming and all of them became t'u-ssu and the founders of the Monguor clans of Huangchung.

It is easy to understand that the troops of Huangchung submitted to the Ming dynasty, in view of the dissensions existing among the Mongol princes at that time, the pitiable flight of the emperor from his capital, the defeat of the Mongol forces and the disintegration of the Mongol nation—all things which were known in the minutest detail by the officials in Huangchung. All the more, what were the conditions in the homelands of the soldiers of Hsining, who long since had been enlisted in the Mongol armies and who had their families following them in Huangchung? They had no way to move. Guarding the country of Huangchung, they had practiced agriculture, and knew they could make a living remaining in the country. There seems to have been no alternative for them, except to wait for the arrival of the new lords of the empire, and then to make the best of a bad situation, offering to remain guardians of the country in behalf of the new masters, as defeated troops in the Orient often used to do for centuries. That the officers, originating from Huangchung, agreed with the decision is not difficult to understand.

CONQUEST OF HUANGCHUNG BY THE MING

CONQUEST OF KANSU

After the death of Emperor Ch'eng Tsung, grandson of Kubilai (1295–1307), no capable emperors succeeded to the throne of the Yuan. During the reign of Emperor Huei Tsung (1333–1368) the provinces situated south of the Yangtse River were lost in 1360 and occupied by several groups of rebels who looted the country of its wealth. Chou Yuan-chang, chief of a group of rebels, succeeded in establishing a provisional government. He defeated or received the alle-

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Ming fixed the number of both foot and horse each of them had to keep ready for emergencies and indicated the mountain passes they had to defend. 175x 614

An interesting fact is that all the subjects of the 16 *t'u-ssu* are called *t'u-min* or *t'u-jen* in the *Annals* and by the people. Soldiers in the Yuan time were accompanied by their families. At that time no Chinese lived in Huangchung. Huangchung was the land of the barbarian Monguors, controlled by Monguor chiefs. It is no wonder that when the Chinese started founding Chinese colonies in Huangchung, the colonists called the Monguors natives, and called Hsi-fan the few uninteresting small Tibetan tribes having their own petty chiefs, for their language and customs differed entirely from those of the Monguors. [70]

Still in Huangchung, on the borders of the Yellow River, but not in the prefecture of Hsining, are encountered two groups of Salars (Muslim Turks of Samarkand) who lived in Huangchung during the Yuan time, having no or few relations with the Monguors. They had already surrendered to the Ming on their own account in 1370, and their two chiefs had received an incumbency. The clan chief Han Pao-yuan had received the office of centurion. He controlled the four upper Salar clans (Kung) who had adopted the surname Han and inhabited the region west of Hsun Hua (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*a*). The clan chief Han Shan-pa had also received the office of centurion. He controlled the four lower Salar clans, which had adopted the surname Ma, and inhabited the region east of Hsun Hua (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*). The four upper and four lower Salar clans are called the eight inner Salar clans (Nei Pa-kung). There still remain five outer Salar clans (Wai Pa-kung) depending on and controlled by the subprefecture of Pa-yen-jung (Monguors I: 22, 23). 175x 563 648

It is not known at what time the Salars settled in Huangchung. A legend is still spread among them relating to their arrival in the country during the Tang dynasty, 620–905. Anyway, the Salars were settled in Huangchung during the Yuan time (1280–1368) and surrendered to the Ming in 1370.[64] Consequently, in the fifth moon of 1371 the entire population of Huangchung with its chiefs had surrendered to the Ming. 175x 563

MING POLICY TOWARD SURRENDERING TRIBES

The policy adopted by the Ming in Kansu, in order to promote the surrender of the numerous groups of Mongol officials living in that country who still commanded a fair number of soldiers and tribes of Tibetans with soldiers subject to them, which was to appoint the Mongol officials and tribal chiefs officials of the newly established dynasty, retaining control over their 175x 648

[64] William Woodville Rockhill, *Diary of a journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892*, 80, Smithsonian Institution, 1894.

[P.27(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Mongoor AE9

The Ko-tsa tribe, also a tribe of tent-dwellers, lived east of the Tsan-tsa tribe, and southwest of the city of Ku Shan. The tribe numbered 400 families (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 4*a*).

The Ssu-kuo-mi tribe, also tent dwellers, lived in a territory situated 150 li south of Hsining, on the borders of the Yellow River. It was divided into two tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 5*b*).

1386 MARKS A NEW ERA IN HUANGCHUNG

According to the *Annals* of Hsining 23: 1*a*; 9: 15*b*, Keng Ping-wen was sent to build the city of Hsining with appropriate circumvallations, using troops from all the commanderies of Shensi. The size of the city had to be reduced to half of its former size, with four watch towers on the corners, nineteen more on the walls, and four gates. The note concerning the use of troops of all the commanderies of the province of Shensi seems to point to the fact that few troops and laborers were available in Huangchung in 1386, and that the former city was too extensive, inconvenient for defense, and probably in bad condition. Keng Ping-wen was ordered to build seven relay stations where official couriers could find horses ready to forward the orders without delay to the upper administration, and also five storehouses for provisions, drill fields for the soldiers, and administrative buildings. Four relay stations were built in an eastern direction covering a distance of 220 li, connecting Hsining with the northeastern part of Kansu. One relay was built in Ku Shan, 160 li south of Nien-Pei in the region of the three tribes which had surrendered in 1380. He also built the fortified city of Nien Pei with a Ch'eng-huang temple (spirit protector of the city) (*Annals* of Hsining 14: 16*a*). A Wen Miao (temple for Confucius) had been built in Hsining and a temple for the spirit protector of the city, for the emperor had already, in 1370, ordered these temples to be built in all the cities of the empire.

These few data suggest that the Monguors saw the situation changing in Huangchung after they had surrendered in 1371. In 1372 Hsining had been created a commandery and consequently Chinese officials had been appointed very soon. Without indicating the date of the appointments, the annals (*Annals* of Hsining 23: 5*b*), note that the administration of Huangchung was controlled by two major officials, a civil and a military. The Fen-chou-tao, who resided not in the unimportant Hsining, but in Liangchow, controlled a large area, and the Feng-hsiun-tao who resided in Kanchow controlled the six granaries, the irrigation canals, the finances of the administrative organs and the farming colonies for the whole of Kansu. Only in 1487, a hundred years later, was the civil and military governor of Huangchung Ping-pi-tao appointed with residence in Hsining. Chapter 24, 14*a* records this

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noting a date that on account of the small population and the extent of the uncultivated land, the Monguors had been ordered to abandon the cultivated land around the cities and fortresses, which would be assigned to artisans and traders and soldiers, and to move to the uncultivated areas they controlled during the Yuan time. 175x 648

This important note hints at the purpose of the Ming to found Chinese colonies, and suggests that the soldiers had to till the soil and provide for their subsistence. This is the time honored policy of China, practiced since 118 B.C. by Ho Ch'u-ping in Hsining. [70]

Necessarily more civil and military officials had arrived and new administrative organs had to be created, since the establishment in 1378 of the exchange bureau of tea against horses. More troops, traders, and artisans had flooded into the city, and in 1380 more Tibetan tribes had surrendered. Houses and shops had to be built, caravansaries for Tibetans, arsenals and barracks. Taxes had to be collected, disturbances prevented, justice dispensed, and the city defended. It was plain that Hsining had been chosen to become the pivot of the civil and military administration of entire Huangchung. 175x 633

In 1387 T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, after his return from the expedition in Liaotung, induced the rebel chiliarch A-pu-ti to surrender, and T'u-ssu Ch'i Kung-k'o hsing-ch'i again induced the Tibetan I-lin-cheng-pen (*Annals of Hsining* 31: 10*b*) and the turbulent Ch'i Chih-hsun to surrender. However, he must not have succeeded in his efforts with Ch'i Chih-hsun because the turbulent Mongol, in 1392, participated in the troubles in Han Tun (Tunhuang) (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 25*b*). 175x 648

In 1388 at the time the army of the Mongol Emperor T'o-ku ssu had been defeated by the Ming, 200,000 of his soldiers had surrendered and only 40,000 had fled in various directions with the emperor, whose power was completely discredited in the eyes of his officers. He was strangled by one of them in 1388.[73]

In 1391 T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was sent to the commandery of Kanchow and was soon called back to Hsining to fight the Tibetan A-li-ta-ah-su. T'u-ssu Kan was ordered to join the expedition of General Sung Sheng at Ha mu li (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 2*b*; 42: 50*b*).

T'u-ssu T'o erh-chih-shih-chieh died in 1392. He had accumulated thirteen merits during his lifetime and died discharging his office. His son Tuan Chou succeeded his father in 1396 (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 10*b*; 27: 9*b*; 24: 7*b*; 27: 9*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 35*b*).

In 1392, t'u-ssu Wang was ordered to follow General Lan Yu, pursuing the turbulent Ch'i Chih-hsun, who at that time was in the region of Han Tun (Tunhuang). On the arrival of Lan Yu most of his tribes fled and were pursued as far as the region of Kokonor. Many were captured with a large number of their cattle.

[73] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 13.

valley of Hsining, 60 li distant from the city on the way to Kokonor, a strong fortified city was built and a strong garrison appointed. The place controlled the western valley and the raids from Kokonor. In Chung-tsai in the Sa-t'ang valley, which so many times had been looted by invading Tibetans, a strong fortress was also built and a garrison appointed. The same dispositions were taken to improve the strength of the cities of Pa-yen-jung and San Ch'uan against brigands of Sung Shan and Ordos. For the first time troops were available to occupy permanently the strategic points in the country and from the t'u-ssu were required good soldiers to share with the Chinese troops the burden of the defense of the strongholds (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 29*b*, 30*a*). General Liu Mei-kuan started with the exploitation of iron ore in the mountains north of Hsining, three foundries were built and blacksmiths started preparing weapons to be distributed among the subdued tribes. To the nineteen tribes of Komi numbering 7,000 people, reputed first-rate warriors, were sent military instructors with weapons, to drill them. The director of colonization reported that 80,000 acres of uncultivated land were still available to farmers. To destitute Tibetans of Kokonor and East Kansu, pouring into the country every day, were given land to till and grain and oxen. Orders were sent to promote education, build schools in each village and improve existing ones (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 19*b*; 25: 23*b*; 35: 24).

In a report sent by General T'ien Yueh is encountered an interesting note relating to the education given to the people of north Kansu and Huangchung in these desperate times. In each of the schools of the city of Kanchow, sixty or seventy students attend the lessons of three teachers. In each of the schools of the cities of Kao T'ai, Shantan, Yung Ch'ang, Liangchow, Cheng Fan and Chuang Lang are encountered only thirty or forty students, in the smallest of these cities only twenty or thirty students. In each of the schools are two teachers. Then follows an exhortation to promote education (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 20*a*).

In the same year, 1596, after the brilliant victories, the country seeming radiant and everywhere walls and fortresses being built, the lamas of T'a-erh-sse (Kumbum) (situated 40 li south of Hsining) decided to build a wall around the hermitages existing at that time. In 1560 some cells had been built for ten monks and, in 1577, a small temple next to a tower whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree, the glory of Kumbum (Monguors II: 25 sq.).

The same year the brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih, feeling insecure in Kokonor, intending to leave the country and to return to Ordos, asked to pass through Huangchung. The request was refused. He passed the Yellow River, looted T'ao and Ho Chou and was pursued in his flight to the Ordos (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*).

The La-pu-erh tribe boldly repelled alone an attack of Kokonor brigands, killing fifteen brigands and cap-

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

The emperor himself appoints t'u-ssu and grants their seals and diploma. No officials, even governors, are allowed to appoint t'u-ssu. As an exception, when a new clan splits off from a large clan, a part of the territories and subjects of the clan are granted to the new t'u-ssu by the "old t'u-ssu and the clan chiefs," but in such cases accreditation by the emperor must follow. These facts in the Li and Lu clan have been previously noted. Also every time a new t'u-ssu succeeds to an old one his office must be confirmed by the emperor, with seal and diploma.

It is clear then that the status of a chief of a group of seceders from a Monguor clan is that of a military official, obeying the orders of a Chinese military official, who unlawfully enlisted him and granted him the titles and promotions granted to Chinese officials in the Chinese army; it is not the status of a t'u-ssu. Such a seceding chief and his followers, continuing to live in the territories of the clan, among the loyal subjects of the t'u-ssu, are legally still subject to him, although they have ceased to recognize his authority.

How is it possible for two groups of people to live peacefully together on the territory of a chief, whose authority one of them refuses to recognize? How is it possible to have Chinese officials who do not defend the rights of their subjects to secede from the clan? This paradox was realized in 1645, when the seceders of the T'o Huan clan led by T'u-ssu Lu Tien surrendered to Governor Meng Ch'iao-fang, and had their situation "regularized" by the Governor. A look at the chronicles of the Lu clan helps to clarify this confusing problem.[14]

SECEDERS FROM THE LU CLAN IN 1645

In 1645 Prince Yin of the Ch'ing dynasty arrived to call the people of the two rivers to surrender. He himself, a Manchu, well conversant with the mentality and the social institutions of the Mongols and nomadic peoples, and familiar with conditions in the Lu clan, was so shocked by the disorganization and hatred among the eminent families of the clan, that he ordered the noble Lady Yang, concubine of the killed T'u-ssu Lu Yung-ch'ang in Lien Ch'eng, to write to the emperor a detailed report with "her blood," concerning the disaster of Lien Ch'eng. The report reads: "The subjects of our clan have been divided among traitors, belonging to eminent families of our tribes, our clan properties have been seized and the hereditary lordship over our tribes usurped." [15]

This report is an eye-opener concerning the events of 1644, the confusion existing in the clan and the hatred among the subjects. Reading the report the first impression is that the Lu P'ei-tso group must be rated among the "traitors belonging to the most eminent families of our tribes" and that the territories

[14] See pp. 89, 101.
[15] See p. 89.

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fences and the watchmen no longer function and it would be foolhardy to leave crops standing.

Within the household, the composition is similar to that of the nomadic tent, although there may be less non-kin hangers-on and a higher frequency of joint-family occupancy. Should the family be a polygynous one, the wives will live in the one house, instead of each having her own. In some cases, the actual family may be divided into nomads and farmers with full occupancy of the house occurring only during the winter season. When this happens, usually the father and one son care for the herds while the other sons remain on the farm. Upon the death of the father, the properties (i.e., the herds and the fields) are no longer kept together and the fission of the family occurs.

C. The Mongours

At least until 1949 Mongour social organization retained a reflection of the land allocated by Chingis Khan to his sons, brothers and leading generals. As may be seen clearly in Monguor social structure, the definite differentiation between nobility and subject population resulted from these allocations. The nobles are very much concerned with their claims of descent either from the imperial family or from other noble "founding ancestors" whereas the commoner population shows little concern with its genealogical pattern. However, the subject population is closely related to the noble rulers, in a way that was partly tribal but later became feudal.

Each noble was obliged to furnish a definite number of troops depending on the size of the territory and the population of which he was the nominal head. It appears likely that the Monguor social groupings began to form as early as Yüan and Mongol rule. Generally speaking, the Monguor commoners are descendants of families that were already subject commoners in the Mongol period, with later additions of families of Chinese and Tibetan origin. There are 17 Monguor clans and four general types of clan leaders. Some of these clans were originally formed by descendants of the Yüan dynasty (Ch'i and Lu clans), and others by military commanders, who though commoners by birth, were given subject families to rule over, as a reward for their services.

Each genealogical register of the clans starts with the appointment of a T'u-ssu, (the office of the T'u-ssu, clan chief, being elective or hereditary). The present rank of T'u-ssu was first created by appointment in the Ming dynasty. Each T'u-ssu, with his offspring, forms a unit known as his "bone." Since primogeniture prevails in Monguor social organization, the oldest son of the T'u-ssu inherits the clan leadership after his father's death.